UNITED
NATIONS

A

General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/45/PV.67
4 January 1991

ENGLISH

Forty-fifth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIXTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 13 December 1990, at 3 p.m.

President:	Mr. de MARCO	(Malta)
later:	Mr. FLORES BERMUDEZ (Vice-President)	(Honduras)
later:	Mr. de MARCO	(Malta)

- Review of the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations: report of the Secretary-General [117]

- Co-operation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States: report of the Secretary-General (continued) [25]

- The situation in the Middle East (continued) [35]

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the General Assembly.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Department of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

90-64472/A 4205V (E)

READEX FICHE

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 117

REVIEW OF THE EFFICIENCY OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND FINANCIAL FUNCTIONING OF THE UNITED NATIONS

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/45/714)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/45/L.34)

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Bolivia who wishes to introduce draft resolution A/45/L.34.

Mr. NAVAJAS MOGRO (Bolivia) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. President, I should first like to express my gratitude to you for granting our request to postpone until today the review of the United Nations intergovernmental structure and functions in the economic and social fields, under the item entitled "Review of the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations".

The Group of 77 attaches primary importance to this subject. We have discussed it at length, not only recently but also in earlier years. We are aware of how necessary and important it is for the United Nations and the United Nations system to play the efficient, just and equitable role they should play in conformity with the principles, objectives and mandates contained in their respective charters and statutes.

We are satisfied with the achievements of the United Nations over the past years, particularly in the political field. The role the United Nations has played as a catalyst and its active and direct participation, through the effective work of the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, in the solution of many conflicts have helped to give our Organization its real purpose and reason for being. The political will of the Member States directly involved has undoubtedly also played a crucial role in the solution of these conflicts. The international

(Mr. Navajas Mogro, Bolivia)

community itself and international public opinion, too, have played and are playing a primary role in creating the appropriate climate and framework for the achievement of our Organization's objectives.

We cannot, however, express the same views with respect to the role of the United Nations and the United Nations system in the economic and social fields and in the field of international co-operation for development. We must say this despite the valiant efforts which have been made and are recognized by all, but which can still be seen to be inadequate in the light of the growing and crucial needs of the peoples of the developing world and the new problems being faced by mankind.

The international peace and security aspects are one side of the coin, but the economic and social aspects are the other. These are two areas that are closely interrelated, with reciprocal effects that strengthen each other but that can also destroy each other.

The United Nations has a mandate to carry out in the economic and social fields and in the field of development; it is contained in Article I of the Charter, and perhaps more specifically in Article 55.

We consider it of vital importance that the United Nations, faced with a world in transition and change, should be able to adapt so as to respond effectively to the complex and growing problems and the new needs of Member States, particularly the developing countries, in the economic and social fields and in the field of international co-operation for development.

In this context, one of the constants of the policy of the Group of 77 has been and remains the maintenance and strengthening of the multilateral system for the continuous promotion of international co-operation. The United Nations and the United Nations system are, par excellence, the broadest and most complete

(Mr. Navajas Mogro, Bolivia)

expression of multilateral co-operation. That is why the Group of 77 attaches great importance to any process designed to improve and strengthen our Organization and its system.

It is true that the processes of change we are witnessing today, together with a series of events in the political, economic and technological fields and the international community's growing awareness of the joint problems facing mankind, which are transforming international relations, will necessarily permeate and influence the present and future development of our Organization. But it is also true that the United Nations, because of its great capacity, its universality and the basic principles it upholds, can and should have an influence on the changes in events and in international relations in order to ensure that the new international order that is emerging and taking shape will be an order of peace and progress, a more just, a fairer and a more humane order, in which the countries of the world, particularly the developing countries, will feel more secure, will feel that they have better opportunities and better conditions.

(Mr. Navajas Mogro, Bolivia)

With these objectives and in this new framework of international relations the Group of 77 has taken important initiatives to promote the revitalization of the Economic and Social Council so that this body will be able to carry out the important role assigned to it in the United Nations Charter. The Council must shoulder its responsibilities and fulfil its mandate. For this purpose it is necessary to improve its structures, organization and operations so that it becomes a more effective and efficient body that is able to respond better to the needs of Member States and particularly to the growing, urgent needs and requirements of the developing countries.

With this objective, the Group of 77 has proposed specific measures, which are contained basically in resolutions 1988/77 and 1989/114, to initiate in a more systematic way the process of revitalizing the Economic and Social Council.

In accordance with the guidelines in the resolutions I have cited, in particular resolution 1988/77, and in the process of strengthening its function of formulating policies, the Council has provisionally adopted, also on the initiative of the Group, a multilateral programme for in-depth consideration of important policy questions during the period 1992-1994, as established in decision 1990/205, adopted at the Council's organizational session in February this year.

In the same period a new and urgent question was selected for treatment - that of the effects of the growing evolution of relations between East and West on the growth of the world economy and, in particular, on the growth and development of the developing countries and international economic co-operation.

In the same way, in implementing the resolutions I have mentioned, the Council is preparing to hold, at its summer meeting next year, a special high-level meeting to examine in depth the subject to which I have referred. The modalities, for the

(Mr. Navajas Mogro, Bolivia)

holding of that meeting and the related analysis are set forth in resolution 1989/114, and this will also be an opportunity for the Council to test an important aspect of its revitalization process.

The Secretary-General, in his report on the progress made in the implementation of resolutions 1988/77 and 1989/114 and decision 1990/205, which is contained in document E/1990/75, of 22 May 1990, refers to other aspects of the process of revitalizing the Council, such as those relating to supervision and co-ordination functions, the question of the participation of specialized agencies and bodies, operational activities for development, methods and organization of work, documentation, and secretariat support. The Secretary-General also puts forward extremely interesting suggestions and proposals. The holding of meetings of the Council at ministerial level, for example, should be considered seriously and positively.

While taking note of all the issues raised in the report, we must however express some concern at the fact that resolutions 1988/77 and 1989/114 have not been fully applied. For example, such important matters as the supervision and co-ordination functions, and other aspects of documentation and secretariat support still have to be put into practice.

We understand that the process of revitalization of the Council is complex and delicate. Although some progress has been made - and for this we express our gratitude to the Secretary-General - much remains to be done. Therefore it is necessary to make efforts to complete the resolution and put them into practice as quickly as possible.

In this regard the Economic and Social Council has given its President a mandate to undertake informal consultations, open to all Members of the United Nations, on all relevant questions relating to consideration of the application of the measures agreed on for the revitalization of the Council and to present a

(Mr. Navajas Mogro, Bolivia)

provisional report on this issue to the Council at its second regular session in 1991.

We have also considered with appropriate attention the report of the Secretary-General in document A/45/714, for which we express our most sincere gratitude to him. In his report he recalls once again the various initiatives, consultations, opinions, studies and expert evaluations over the past 40 years, the recommendations emerging from which have clearly influenced the taking of decisions in the processes of the structuring and functioning of the Organization. However, we must recall also that there are many recommendations, precisely those aimed at making United Nations bodies more effective and which could perhaps have contributed to solving the problems we are facing, which have not been put into practice, particularly in the area of the system of development of the United Nations.

The evaluation studies carried out show the great problems facing the Organization. We are aware of the complexity of these problems of structure, organization, operation, co-ordination, human resources, finance, and so on. In the face of these problems it is essential that Member States take measures to ensure that the United Nations system can respond in a more effective, efficient way to the new challenges facing the international community and, in particular, the growing needs of the developing countries.

We share the Secretary-General's belief that the 1990s could be a good period of consolidation and maturity for the United Nations system. We believe that there are now certain favourable conditions in the international scene that have come about only recently and that make it more feasible to make new, genuine efforts in the process of restructuring and revitalizing our Organization. As the Secretary-General states very well in his report, recent developments in the

(Mr. Navajas Mogro, Bolivia)

political arena offer a good opportunity for an objective assessment of the functioning of the United Nations system and to reach agreement on issues and problems, forms and ways and means of resolving them. But at the same time he warns that

> "Attempts at renovation, revitalization, rationalization and restructuring will prove to be ineffective in the absence of a unifying framework of policies acceptable to all Governments." (A/45/714, para. 33)

He goes on to say:

> "What is essential is that there should be a clear programme, a philosophy, to achieve agreed upon objectives". (ibid., para. 38)

(Mr. Navajas Mogro, Bolivia)

We believe that a frame of reference, an orientation and even a certain philosophy are found in the Declaration on International Economic Co-operation, the International Strategy for Development, and other documents recently adopted in important international forums. Thus, in this restructuring and revitalization process, the results of other international meetings that took place at the beginning of this decade should be taken into account.

Just as in 1975 the restructuring processes were aimed at making the United Nations system more aware of the need to establish the new international economic order, the reform process of 1986 was aimed at strengthening the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations at a critical period in the financial situation of the Organization. Thus, the restructuring and revitalization process in 1990 should be aimed at ensuring that the functioning of the United Nations system in the economic and social fields are more effective and efficient, in order better to meet the need to strengthen international economic co-operation for development and at the same time promote the development of the developing countries. Let us not forget that the Declaration adopted at the eighteenth special session of the General Assembly states that the most important challenge of the 1990s is precisely the economic growth and development of the developing countries.

It is with that purpose in mind that the Group of 77 has taken the initiative of proposing that the General Assembly reconvene in a resumed session for an in-depth consideration of the restructuring and revitalization of the United Nations in the economic and social fields.

In this regard, the Group of 77 is submitting the draft resolution contained in document A/45/L.34 for the Assembly's consideration. We hope that this will be a consensus draft, because its purpose is to ensure that the United Nations and the

(Mr. Navajas Mogro, Bolivia)

United Nations system are able to carry out effectively their important role in the economic and social fields and in the field of international co-operation for the economic and social development of our peoples.

We should like to propose the following revisions to the draft resolution.

In the fourth line of operative paragraph 3, we request the deletion of the words "for development". In other words, the last part of the paragraph now reads as follows:

(spoke in English)

"in order to be more responsive to the needs of enhancing international economic co-operation and promoting the development of the developing countries".

(spoke in Spanish)

In operative paragraph 4, we wish to introduce some changes that will make the paragraph read as follows:

(spoke in English)

"Decides to reconvene, in a resumed session for a duration of one week in the second half of April 1991, for an in-depth consideration and negotiation of proposals for the restructuring and revitalization of the United Nations in the economic and social fields".

(spoke in Spanish)

In this paragraph, the changes are: in the first line, the substitution of the phrase "one week" for the phrase "two weeks"; and in the second line, the addition of the words "and negotiation of proposals for the restructuring" after the words "for in-depth consideration".

I have the honour to submit this draft resolution to the Assembly as I have just revised it orally.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on agenda item 117 be closed now.

It was so decided.

Mr. WILENSKI (Australia): I have the honour today of speaking today on behalf of the delegations of Canada and New Zealand as well as Australia.

I should like to begin this statement with a quotation referring to the efforts of the Secretary-General in relation to the Economic and Social Council. It describes the Secretary-General as having

> "tried to reorganise the procedures of the Economic and Social Council ... to allow for concentration on a few key problems for a short period during which the most senior and responsible government officials would attend. His idea was to 'hold a concentrated top-level debate, half conference and half seminar, which will, on the one hand, give new life to the debate within the UN ... and also have a different kind of impact on world opinion from the one we now get from the regular procedures to which people have become a little bit too accustomed'."

Does this quotation accurately reflect some of our present endeavours? Does it appear to describe some of the activities that we are currently discussing? Does it refer to some of our current problems? Well, actually, the Secretary-General referred to is Dag Hammarskjöld and the quotation is from his biography by Sir Brian Urquhart (p. 375) and refers to a period just over 31 years ago, in mid-1959. Surely this quotation must lead us to ask how long we can go round in the same circles in our attempts to improve the economic structures of the United Nations. Surely it must cause us to ask whether the time has not arrived for us at least to begin to look at new ideas and new approaches.

One of the great innovations of the Charter of the United Nations was its recognition of the close interrelationship between political, economic and social

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

issues and of the fact that economic and social issues often were the basic cause of political differences. Thus, the functions and purposes of the United Nations went beyond those of the discredited League of Nations and encompassed the necessity of international co-operation on economic and social issues as well as political issues in the post-war world.

But while the political effectiveness of the United Nations has at different times waxed and waned and some of its structures have been adapted or augmented as changing circumstances have demanded, we must note with regret that the United Nations has never been as effective in the economic and social sectors - with the major exception of the considerable progress made in the human rights and some other social areas - as its founders would have wished or expected. That is not to say that operational agencies have not done extraordinarily valuable work. But the economic and social policy-making organs have stagnated and have never exercised the influence and authority that had been anticipated.

It is commonplace to note that today the United Nations in its political activities has entered a new period of revitalization and accomplishment.

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

Regrettably, however, this revitalization of the political sector serves only to place in stark relief the relative lack of progress and accomplishments of the economic sector. As the Secretary-General states in his very helpful report on this subject this year:

> "the pace of changes in attitudes and approaches in resolving economic and social progress has not matched the breathtaking speed of the political developments" (A/45/714, para. 38)

of the past two years. When considered alongside the great range of economic problems faced today, particularly by developing countries, this creates a new urgency in the need to examine and reform decision-making within the Organization on economic and social issues.

What we need to focus on, therefore, is improving the effectiveness of the economic sector, that is, we need to get better results in the real world from the endless debates and resolutions. We need to ensure that each level of discussion does not simply repeat the preceding one, but adds value to the decisions to be taken, and that in the end the discussions and the decisions in the Organization are effective in influencing the actual policies being pursued by the Member States and the realities of economic life.

Of course, we recognize that reform will make no difference unless there is the political will to make effective use of the relevant organs of the United Nations and to conduct discussions in these organs on all issues and at an appropriate level. This central point is worth emphasizing; there is little purpose in improving the structures unless we are prepared to use them. Or as noted in the Secretary-General's report:

> "Attempts at renovation, revitalization, rationalization and restructuring will prove to be ineffective in the absence of a unifying framework of

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

policies acceptable to all Governments. ... Restructuring and reform cannot compensate for lack of the political will to act." (ibid., para. 33)

But progress on the issues and progress on structural improvement must go forward together in tandem. Last year's General Assembly resolution on this topic referred to a whole series of conferences which would help to define the issues, and some have said that we should wait for all these conferences to be concluded before considering intergovernmental structures. But, when these conferences are over, we shall find another set in front of us. We shall always have someone ready to say that the time is not yet ripe for structural improvement and that we should wait for another conference, and another, and another.

The fact is that issues and policies are always evolving and, while it is true that without political will results will not be achieved whatever the structure, we should also remember that with an inappropriate structure political will can be rendered ineffective. For that reason we welcome the draft resolution that is before us. We believe that there lies behind it a widely shared constructive spirit and desire to work together to improve these structures. The decision to reconvene in a resumed session to consider these issues would be an extremely positive development and, while not an end in itself, would mark a very welcome new beginning.

Debate on reform has in the recent past been prejudiced by the fact that the principal forces behind it appeared to many to be solely concerned with cutting costs. This is not, and should not be, our focus in today's debate. As I have said, our focus today and from now on should be on improving the effectiveness of the overall Organization.

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

Some delegations have suggested to me in the past few days that in considering this issue we must remember its history. I respectfully suggest that, if we are to make progress, the best thing that we can do is to forget that history and put behind us the confrontations and blame-laying of the past. We are today faced with a new situation, new problems, and we should do well to consider afresh our approach.

In the end, we believe, there must be a consensus on a cohesive package of changes to be implemented in an agreed order and within an agreed time-frame. As the Secretary-General states in his report:

> "What is essential is that there should be a clear programme, a philosophy, to achieve agreed upon objectives and that the process should not be left to ad hoc arrangements." (ibid., para. 38)

Furthermore, too much that we have already decided on has not been carried through. Thus, there must also be a clear and explicit strategy for implementation to support and guide what will inevitably be a difficult process, and an agreed review mechanism which from time to time analyses and reports on progress on the agreed package.

For four and a half decades, Mr. President, your predecessors have been able to observe at close quarters the operation of the United Nations and have often been influential in trying to make our United Nations better able to cope with the numerous challenges it faces. As far back as 1947, the President of the third session of the General Assembly, Dr. H. V. Evatt, asked the Assembly to consider whether or not the United Nations machinery was translating into reality its economic and social pledges. He referred then to the risk of the United Nations becoming what he called "all harness and no horse" in the economic and social fields. We cannot say with truth that the situation today is very different from

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

that described by Dr. Evatt; but we can say that the circumstances which make restructuring possible are more auspicious.

The time is ripe for a more effective and more efficient United Nations across the entire range of its mandated activities. We want it to respond better to new tasks, to reassess priorities and to learn how to manage the older activities which are still relevant. We welcome the draft resolution as an important step in this process.

Mr. ELIASSON (Sweden): I have the honour of making this statement on behalf of the Nordic countries: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sewden.

In a world of increasing interdependence we are confronting a number of global challenges. We have to try to end conflicts and we have to fight poverty and the poisoning of the earth. The United Nations has a clear role in these endeavours during the 1990s. There is a growing interest in and commitment to making the United Nations an effective instrument for maintaining international peace and security. This must be accompanied, in our view, by a similar interest in and commitment to enhancing the role of the United Nations as a forum for economic and social co-operation.

It is obvious that the United Nations is facing a need to reform and to increase its efficiency in the economic and social fields. This in no way represents a new state of affairs. Dag Hammarskjöld, who was quoted earlier by the representative of Australia, tried to put new life into United Nations deliberations on economic and social matters. In 1959 he stated:

(Mr. Eliasson, Sweden)

"There is a difficulty with United Nations procedures as they are at present in the sense that they tend to develop into what I might call routine.... It is difficult to get concentration on the key issues.... It is also difficult to organize the work in such a way as to make it possible for key people in Governments to attend."*

---

* Mr. Flores Bermudez (Honduras), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Eliasson, Sweden)

The situation has, without a doubt, deteriorated since then. The agenda of the United Nations has shown sustained and considerable growth, resulting in unclear priorities. This has been accompanied by a parallel growth in the intergovernmental machinery, leading to several examples of duplication of work. The directives and guidelines emanating from the central organs are often vague and in need of a stronger sense of direction.

A number of co-ordination mechanisms exist, but there is still too little real co-ordination: the cohesion of the United Nations system leaves much to be desired. Our discussions on economic issues are only rarely of such a character as to attract high-level participation from our capitals. There is a feverish schedule of meetings, but the productive value of the sum of these activities can be questioned.

The report of the Secretary-General gives a good and illuminating historical overview of the development of United Nations activities in the economic and social field. It also gives a valuable summary of the efforts that have been made over the years to improve the functioning of the United Nations in these fields.

These efforts have had only limited results. Let us admit that. This must not however hold us back or make us give up; on the basis of the information which the Secretary-General has provided, we should take a fresh look at the problems. We should try to bring about a more focused, more efficient Organization, responsive to evolving needs, in particular those of the developing countries.

In doing so, we should also bear in mind the need for structural reform of the United Nations system as a whole. It is important to identify clearly the roles which the various organizations should play: these roles must be performed in harmony, and complement each other so as to form a coherent whole. They must be developed in order to meet new challenges, such as the alarming degradation of the environment.

(Mr. Eliasson, Sweden)

We must therefore actively consider the necessary administrative and institutional changes in order to tackle efficiently the integrated issues of, for instance, environment and development, not least in the light of the decisions of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development.

Here, I would like to mention that some issues related to reform in the United Nations are being studied within the framework of a broad-based Nordic research project on the United Nations and its activities in the social and economic fields. This Nordic project on the United Nations is motivated by an active interest in strengthening the international system of co-operation in the economic and social field. Its purpose is thus to enhance the opportunities for the international system of co-operation, and offer further stimulation for international solidarity and development.

There are at least three aspects which we now have to scrutinize: priorities; rationalization of work and restructuring of the intergovernmental machinery; and the role and organization of the Secretariat.

In order to make the best use of the limited resources of the United Nations, the role of the Organization in the economic and social field must be defined more precisely. Clearer priorities are prerequisites for a better functioning of our Organization. In establishing clearer priorities and a better international division of labour, we must bear in mind that the United Nations cannot and should not carry out all the tasks on the international agenda. Member States must therefore muster the political will to make a pragmatic reassessment of the future role of the United Nations. We should, in our view, try to identify areas where the United Nations has comparative advantages, particular competence or a particular potential. Of special concern to us should be areas which are characterized by interdependence and which call for intensified international co-operation.

(Mr. Eliasson, Sweden)

The declaration on international economic co-operation and the new international development strategy are important contributions to a deeper discussion of such priorities. These documents are, however, many faceted and comprehensive in character; we should, therefore, in our future work, distinguish between two kinds of issues: on the one hand, we have issues where the United Nations could contribute to enhanced international efforts by promoting the understanding of problems and by inspiring and monitoring the activities of other international actors; on the other hand, there are issues where the United Nations can make a more direct, a more tangible and a more practical contribution. As the world community expects specific results from the United Nations, we should concentrate on the latter kind of issue, without downgrading the debating and monitoring role of our Organization.

One of the most useful roles of the United Nations in the economic field lies within the area of the development of human resources. Education, health care, population growth, refugee flows, natural disaster mitigation, and the fight against poverty are all areas where the United Nations system should have particular qualifications.

Another major concern of the United Nations must be to contribute to the protection of the environment and to promote sustainable development. We are confident that the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development will give indications of the priorities of the United Nations system and the institutional and administrative improvements to it. We are ready to discuss these priorities within the proposed action programme "Agenda 21".

(Mr. Eliasson, Sweden)

Member States should therefore endeavour to define more clearly the key problems in the economic and social fields which the United Nations must solve. We must mobilize the political will to work together to solve these problems; it is only if we all perceive the United Nations as a relevant and central organization that we can seriously enhance the efficiency of our Organization in this field. The developed countries are not the least of those with a clear responsibility to show that they regard the United Nations as a vital instrument for international economic and social co-operation. If we could mobilize that political will, it would be possible to get away from rhetoric and deal pragmatically with the major issues facing us.

Internal reforms aimed at making the United Nations more responsive and more efficient also have an impact on how the Member States view its activities and on their willingness to participate constructively and actively in the work of the Organization. We must therefore take steps to rationalize our working methods and restructure our intergovernmental machinery.

These problems were carefully analysed by the Special Commission, which, in 1987 and 1988, carried out an in-depth study of the intergovernmental structure in the economic and social fields. I shall point out only a few areas where the Nordic countries believe that renewed efforts must be made.

It is of fundamental importance for us to take a new look at the roles of the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly. We should try to bring about a division of labour which would ensure that these bodies complement each other instead of duplicating each other. Interesting and stimulating ideas on this matter have recently been presented.

(Mr. Eliasson, Sweden)

The role of the Council as a filter for resolutions and topics to be discussed should be strengthened. This would make it possible for the General Assembly to concentrate on major policy issues confronting the international community.

We must also try to avoid repetitive debates. Many issues are now first discussed in a sub-committee, then in the Economic and Social Council, and finally in the Second Committee of the General Assembly, often by the same people and with similar arguments. Let us admit that. The purpose and usefulness of the general debates in the Council and in the Second Committee should be re-examined. They should either be consolidated or their differing themes should be clearly emphasized, in order to avoid duplication.

Reforms in that direction could increase the value of the deliberations in the Council. They could also enhance the political attention given the Council, so that it could fulfil the central role envisaged for it.

We should also, in our view, take a closer look at the question of ending discussions by adopting resolutions, often as a matter of routine, but after lengthy, and often night-time, negotiations. In many cases, our work would benefit from, for instance, a Chairman's summary of the main points, instead of a formal resolution.

(Mr. Eliasson, Sweden)

The subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly and ECOSOC are in most cases seen to be functioning well. But certain bodies would benefit from wider participation by experts. We concur with the view of the Secretary-General that there is a need to transform a number of these subsidiary bodies into expert groups. Some bodies could no doubt be phased out and their tasks taken over by others.

ECOSOC itself could play an expanded role with regard to policies and co-ordination within the fields that will be subject to reform. ECOSOC could thus address the political, global and cross-sectoral dimensions of the issues under discussion, as is stated in the report of the Secretary-General.

The third and last element of the reform process should be a strengthening of the Secretariat in the economic and social fields.

The Secretariat has a valuable role to play by helping us to establish priorities and by stimulating discussions with imaginative and analytical documents. The Secretariat must be given the opportunity to assess major trends and develop policy options in the economic and social fields for the deliberations in intergovernmental bodies.

Not least, the capacity of the Secretariat must be strengthened to identify emerging issues and potential problems. We agree fully with the Secretary-General that there is a need to develop closer links between the offices in the Secretariat responsible for political issues and those concerned with economic and social questions.

Here we, the Member States, have an important responsibility. We must not burden the Secretariat with demands for new reports if they are not deemed absolutely vital. Nor should we insist that reports are to be regularly produced when no new developments have taken place or new facts emerged. Consolidation of reports should be encouraged. We should try to bring about a situation in which

(Mr. Eliasson, Sweden)

there are fewer but better reports which Member States have the time to study carefully and which can thus truly influence our debates and decisions.

Internal reforms of the Secretariat are also called for to ensure that available resources are used efficiently for problems that merit particular attention. This is an aspect that has been examined recently by Brian Urquhart and Erskin Childers in their important study A World in Need of Leadership: Tomorrow's United Nations.

The Secretariat structure must thus be streamlined and rationalized. We should try to get away from the present fragmentation and establish a recognized and forceful centre of authority with respect to economic and social issues.

This is of particular importance as the United Nations system, in a world more and more characterized by interdependence, must improve its capacity to function as a system, as an integrated whole. The views of the Secretary-General regarding a strengthening of the Office of the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation are of interest in this context.

Let me in closing say that we are convinced that all of us have the same interest in a strong and effective United Nations, well-equipped in personnel, organization and finance to address the crucial issues facing the world today. This applies to all the various roles of the United Nations - as a forum for negotiations, as a peace-keeper, as a peace-maker and as a peace-builder, that is, as a channel and catalyst for development assistance.

This year we have witnessed increasing convergence of views on fundamental economic and development issues. The Nordic countries believe that this convergence also could be broadened to the field of reform and make it possible to take measures to make the United Nations more relevant, and indeed more powerful.

The Nordic countries stand ready to participate actively in the vital forthcoming discussions on these matters and in the crucial reform process.

(Mr. Eliasson, Sweden)

Against this background, we welcome the draft resolution about the restructuring and revitalization of the United Nations in the economic and social fields as a positive contribution in this endeavour.

Mr. KUDRYAVTSEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Enhancing the effectiveness of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations, particularly its economic and social activities, has for many years been considered under this agenda item. Past debates, although not leading to a general agreement about further specific ways of improving the work of the economic and social sector of the United Nations, have nevertheless proved to be extremely useful for many reasons, including a more profound study of the characteristic features of the situation. There is a growing understanding that the time for reform is now ripe, and we should spare no effort to make the United Nations commensurate with today's demands and to direct it to more fully satisfying the interests of all Member countries.

Reform is a lengthy and complex process. We are fully aware that if it is to be successful we must elaborate an integrated and coherent concept of how it should be carried out. Reform should be comprehensive, encompassing both the activities of intergovernmental machinery and the relevant Secretariat structures. In this connection we should like to commend a number of useful conclusions and recommendations to be found in the Secretary-General's report before us. The Soviet delegation in particular shares his view on the need for the strengthenimg of the co-ordinating role of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the expertization of the auxiliary social economic organs of ECOSOC and the General Assembly; the rationalizing of their structures; the introduction of a multidisciplinary approach to research activities of the central socio-economic divisions of the Secretariat; and the further development of the prognostic work of

(Mr. Kudryavtsev, USSR)

those divisions in the general context of enhancing the preventive functions of the United Nations, ensuring interaction between operational programmes and research programmes carried out by the Organization. We also favour a more precise division of labour and complementarity among the efforts made by various parts of the United Nations system, including the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, while of course appreciating the specific role played by these latter organizations in the international economic and financial system.

We are also interested in what is stated in the Secretary-General's report about the growing interdependence of the problems of trade, financial investments and technological development, as well as the need for the Secretariat to take a more comprehensive and coherent approach to these problems, in particular by joint programming activity between the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the Centre on Transnational Co-operation and the United Nations Centre on Science and Technology. We were particularly impressed by the idea of enhancing the professional level of the work of auxiliary sectoral organs of ECOSOC and the General Assembly, which is what we understand to be meant by "expertization". Involving in their work high-calibre experts who are very conversant with the specific nature of the relevant problems will make possible a more profound and thorough analysis of the items under consideration on the basis of professional recommendations made by the auxiliary bodies of ECOSOC. ECOSOC itself will be able to take decisions that co-ordinate and direct the entire activity of organs and organizations of the United Nation system in any specific field.

(Mr. Kudryavtsev, USSR)

By restructuring the work in this way, we shall be taking an important step towards improving the effective yield of the economic activities of the United Nations and increasing its contribution to the search for mutually acceptable solutions to the most urgent international economic problems. We shall also be making considerable progress in enhancing the political authority of the Economic and Social Council in the United Nations system, and ensuring that it fulfils its role and function, under the Charter, as the main co-ordinator of all of the Organization's social and economic activities.

We understand that it will be by no means simple to reach agreement on specific steps to give effect to these ideas and we are prepared to be actively and constructively involved in the common efforts of Member States, taking into account the fact that this work will be carried out in the context of global economic consensus, as proclaimed by the General Assembly at its seventeenth special session.

The Soviet delegation believes that the first steps in this direction can be taken at the present session of the General Assembly. Therefore, we welcome the proposal of the Group of 77 that this session of the General Assembly resume its work in April 1991 for the purpose of detailed consideration of and negotiations on questions related to restructuring and revitalizing United Nations efforts in the social and economic fields.

The delegation of the Soviet Union expresses its gratitude to the Group of 77 for the understanding they have shown of the position of other countries, including its acceptance of our ideas regarding the text of draft resolution A/45/L.34, which we support.

We are profoundly convinced that reform in this important socio-economic sector of the United Nations should lead to results in keeping with the interests of all countries. This should be the objective of our common efforts to enhance

(Mr. Kudryavtsev, USSR)

the effectiveness and efficiency of the intergovernmental machinery in the United Nations system in this particular field in order that the requirement to strengthen international economic and social co-operation and promote the development of the developing countries may be taken more fully into account.

We are prepared to co-operate and explore a mutually acceptable approach with all other delegations.

Mr. TRAXLER (Italy): On behalf of the 12 member States of the European Community, I would like to express appreciation of the report presented by the Secretary-General on this item. The Twelve regret, however, that the report may not get in the General Assembly the thorough examination that it certainly deserves owing to the remarkable delay in making it available and distributing it - a delay that is not easy to understand given that the Secretariat had been aware for a year that a fully fledged report was required, as the Economic and Social Council reiterated once again last July.

However, the Twelve appreciate the content of the report and note its realism as well as the prudence of its conclusions and recommendations. This prudent approach will allow Member States to go further than has been the case in the past in attempting to implement elements of reform in the economic and social sectors of the United Nations.

This year we have an important proposal before us - draft resolution A/45/L.34, presented by the Group of 77. The Twelve welcome it and are willing to support a decision that the Assembly reconvene in a resumed session in April next year to consider specific proposals for restructuring. Indeed, the Twelve recommend immediate approval of the draft resolution introduced by the representative of Bolivia.*

---

* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

The Twelve believe it essential that the process of reform continue. They concur with the assessment of the Secretary-General that the role of the United Nations in the economic and social fields is, and is going to be, as important as ever in helping the international community, and especially developing countries, achieve the conditions of stability and well-being that are essential for peaceful relations among nations.

We shall need a more effective United Nations if we are to use it as an important instrument for the follow-up of the commitments which the international community has made in international decisions as important as those relating to the Declaration of the eighteenth special session of the General Assembly, the International Development Strategy for the Fourth Development Decade and the Second United Nations Conference on the Least-Developed Countries.

By setting in motion the preparatory process for the 1992 Conference on Environment and Development the United Nations has assumed the central role in negotiations on the environment. In fact, the United Nations is the only international forum in which negotiations of this sort could take place on a universal basis. The United Nations will have to prove, however, that it can not only bring about a successful conference but also implement the decisions that the international community adopts in Rio de Janeiro.

The Twelve believe that there is a more and more explicit consensus on essential aspects of development policies, but this consensus has not as yet been translated into the momentum necessary to modernize and adapt the United Nations instrument to the new needs of development co-operation as we understand it. More and more we deal with socio-economic aspects of development in an integrated manner, while the United Nations machinery continues to operate roughly along the lines and with the structure that evolved in the 1960s and 1970s.

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

The Secretary-General rightly points out in his report that, while the call to streamline the economic and social machinery is not new, the United Nations membership has not been capable of drawing a clear distinction between the continuing validity of issues and the effectiveness of the intergovernmental and Secretariat machinery that exists, supposedly, to address those issues. Whenever a proposal for suppressing a committee or consolidating the Secretariat has been advanced, the Pavlov reflex of some Governments and some Secretariat officers has been to impede any change on the ground that the issue at stake is important.

We need to change this. No international organization can maintain its usefulness and influence on real issues if it does not adapt to the changing needs and ways of conducting business. If we take energy, for instance, we recognize its importance but we also recognize that the work of the United Nations in this area needs to be improved. More specifically, the Twelve believe that the sectoral approach so far prominent in United Nations activities needs to be reviewed. This kind of approach has often provoked fragmentation, and it has created a perception of competition for areas of competence between the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

In fact, it was this sectoral approach that in the 1960s and 1970s led to the setting up, in stages, of new intergovernmental and secretarial structures, without the necessary attention having paid to effectiveness or to concentration of efforts.

In the last few years of the past decade efforts to enhance the functioning of the United Nations were sometimes dictated by financial constraints. The Twelve agree with the Secretary-General's view that financial uncertainties and delays in receiving contributions greatly weaken the capacity of the United Nations to plan its activities.

The 1990s will be a period of maturation for the United Nations, in which the Organization will have to prove its capacity to become a leading instrument for the implementation, in the economic field, of the positive trends that now exist in respect not only of many development goals but also of the means of addressing them.

The economic and social activities of the United Nations are a valuable means of pursuing goals that we all share and of helping developing countries in their development efforts.

We are not trying to save financial resources; we are trying, in the interests of developing countries, to get more and better results from the financial means that are available.

We shall need to re-examine how the work of the Second Committee of the General Assembly, of the Economic and Social Council and of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) can be better co-ordinated. We shall need to look into the agendas of these three bodies with a view to making them mutually complementary rather than duplicative. We shall need to examine our machinery for dealing with the environment, to make sure that the integrated approach that we are adopting in preparation for the 1992 Conference will be fully reflected in the implementation of the decisions to be taken in Rio de Janeiro. The Twelve suggest that the synergy between UNCTAD, the General Assembly and the

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

Economic and Social Council should be seriously examined. We shall need to look again at how we can make the Economic and Social Council more effective in fulfilling its role, under the Charter, of co-ordinating the social and economic activities of the United Nations.

I wish to reiterate that the Twelve are committed to continuing their efforts to strengthen the Economic and Social Council. In this respect, let me recall the position that the Community has taken in the General Assembly's Ad Hoc Committee on restructuring. This position, much of which remains valid, is reported in the appendix to the report of the Special Commission in document E/1988/75 of June 1988.

The Twelve have contributed to the work that has already been done to revitalize the Economic and Social Council, but they recognize that there is a clear limit to the extent to which the Council can be revitalized without a more intensive re-examination of its subsidiary machinery.

I wish to express specifically the positive interest of the Twelve in the proposals, which are set out in the Secretary-General's report, for enhancing the role of the Economic and Social Council in programmes that are system-wide and cross-sectoral - inter alia, within the economic sector and the sectors of human-resources development, poverty, science and technology, rural development, natural resources and energy.

The Twelve agree with the Secretary-General's assessment that the necessary rationalization of the subsidiary machinery of the Economic and Social Council must include consolidation of the subsidiary bodies, as well as action to encourage, within those bodies, more specialization and the development of expertise, with a view to enabling the Council to begin consideration of substantive questions in the light of their cross-sectoral links. Only in this way can we enhance the co-ordinating role of the Economic and Social Council and facilitate a better division of work between it and its subsidiary bodies.

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

The Twelve hope that the President of the General Assembly and the President of the Economic and Social Council will be able to make a substantial contribution to the efforts of member countries in this area.

As in the past, the Twelve will contribute constructively to the work undertaken on this subject. They will formulate proposals for the resumed session in April.

Mr. JIN Yongjian (China) (interpretation from Chinese): I should like, at the outset, to express my thanks to the Secretary-General for the comprehensive and valuable report he has presented on the review of the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations.

The restructuring of the economic and social elements of the United Nations system has been going on for many years, and some results have been achieved. However, restructuring is an evolving process, which must be carried further.

One of the main purposes of reviewing the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations should be to enhance the Organization's role in promoting world economic and social development and to make that role more comparable with the Organization's role in settling political questions.

It should be pointed out that developing countries are currently faced with grave difficulties in their economic and social development. The gap between the North and the South is ever-widening. Problems related to such matters as external debt, financial resources, trade, environment, poverty and drugs not only seriously impede growth in developing countries but also pose a threat to world peace and stability.

Meanwhile, the integration of the world economy, the growing trend towards the creation of economic blocs and rapid advances in world science and technology have given rise to new and formidable challenges to developing countries. In these

(Mr. Jin Yongjian, China)

circumstances, it is hoped that the United Nations will shoulder more responsibility, will do more to strengthen international economic co-operation and promote economic growth and development in developing countries.

Only by carrying out the necessary restructuring in the economic and social sectors can the United Nations adapt itself to the new situation and meet the challenges of today.

In the restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the United Nations, the relevant principles enshrined in the Organization's Charter must be steadfastly adhered to, and the process must be carried out in a balanced and co-ordinated manner. We should neither overemphasize nor overlook economic or social issues. Restructuring in these two sectors cannot be accomplished overnight; it should be carried out step by step. And hasty actions must be avoided. Major restructuring measures should be discussed thoroughly by the various parties, and should be adopted on the basis of consensus.

As the Secretary-General points out in his report, the object of the ongoing reform effort is not to seek financial savings but to help to make the Organization more responsive to the needs of the international community. The primary task of the various Departments and bodies of the United Nations system - including the Secretariat's support structure, the intergovernmental structure and the Economic and Social Council and its subordinate bodies - is to increase efficiency and improve working methods. Secondly, these Departments and bodies should improve their processes for co-ordination and co-operation. This is becoming ever more important, especially with the increase in the number of issues of an interdisciplinary nature.

(Mr. Jin Yongjian, China)

We believe that this can help avoid duplication and overlapping and at the same time preserve uniformity, comprehensiveness and consistency in the work in the economic and social fields. In addition, appropriate readjustments to the functions of some bodies and institutions are also necessary. In his report, the Secretary-General has put forward several suggestions in this regard which deserve further consideration.

In the process of restructuring the economic and social sectors, work on the revitalization of the Economic and Social Council must be continued. Thanks to the concerted efforts of all Member States and the Secretary-General, improvements have been made in the Economic and Social Council in the areas of policy formulation, monitoring, operational activities for development, co-ordination, working methods, organization of work and documentation. This year, faced with new and emerging problems, the Council has formulated a multi-year work programme which is essential for strengthening the role of the Economic and Social Council in the economic and social fields.

On the question of revitalization of the Economic and Social Council, we put forward specific proposals at the summer session of the Economic and Social Council this year. In short, we are of the view that what is most urgent now is the need further to implement resolutions 1988/77, 1989/114 and other relevant resolutions and to consolidate the progress we have made. Further actions can only be considered upon the basis of the full implementation of the above-mentioned resolutions.

A successful outcome in the restructuring of the Organization in the economic and social fields depends, in the final analysis, on the political will of all Member States. We are convinced that as long as all Member States can make concerted and unremitting efforts, it will be possible for the United Nations to achieve success in the restructuring of its economic and social sectors.

Mr. TREAT (United States of America): I wish to offer my congratulations to you, Mr. President. Even if they are somewhat belated, they are no less sincere.

The report of the Secretary-General on "The United Nations intergovernmental structure and functions in the economic and social fields" is a useful document - that is, as far as it goes.

My delegation wants to thank the Secretary-General for a very important and significant document and for his contribution to this useful work.

The report includes an insightful historical review of the evolution of the economic and social sectors and draws lessons from past restructuring exercises. It addresses the relationship between the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and subsidiary bodies, the specialization of subsidiary bodies and the reorganization of the Secretariat. And it contains specific recommendations, for instance, making the Economic and Social Council responsible for the preparatory process of international events and conferences; enhancing the Economic and Social Council's role in connection with activities that are system-wide or cross-sectoral; increasing specialization to strengthen the underpinnings of both the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly; strengthening the integrative and early identification capacities of the Secretariat; and improving the efficiency of existing co-ordination instruments.

The report states that

"Attempts at renovation, revitalization, rationalization and restructuring will prove to be ineffective in the absence of a unifying framework of policies acceptable to all Governments." (A/45/714, para. 33)

(Mr. Treat, United States)

It observes that

"there is a much greater acceptance of the fact that economic development and social progress is a sine qua non for lasting peace just as peace is a necessary prerequisite for improving the well-being and welfare of peoples". (para. 37)

And it underscores that the United Nations should

"develop a comprehensive and integrated approach to the growing number of interconnected global issues". (para. 41)

My delegation agrees with these sentiments.

That is all very well, and there is much more of value. But even if the report's recommendations were to be carried out, they are generally timid and superficial and they rely unduly on rhetoric which is perfectly agreeable but which, in sum, does not get us much further than we already are. We have had good ideas before us for a long time. The challenges increase; the opportunities increase; but the system remains largely untouched and largely inadequate. As the report itself observes, we lack the collective political will to get the United Nations social and economic act together.

My delegation has argued here in the General Assembly and in the Economic and Social Council that revitalization of the Council, which is critical, should concentrate on finding ways to build up its educating and co-ordinating roles within the overall United Nations system responsive to the mandate and the invitations extant in the Charter.

We have supported and applauded certain recent innovations in the way the Council goes about its work, including a streamlining and biennualization of new agenda items, and an emphasis on forward-looking analysis and in-depth discussion of major policy themes.

(Mr. Treat, United States)

We have suggested that priority be given within the Economic and Social Council's schedule for consideration of its own revitalization and for the Council not only to receive presentations from its institutional bodies but also to be able to connect with, to question and to make recommendations to them. We are dedicated to considering further how the Economic and Social Council can provide leadership for the United Nations overall economic and social performance. Also, we have favoured the consolidation of subsidiary bodies and the rationalization of publications. We have persistently encouraged the role of the ACC/CPC (Administrative Committee on Co-ordination/Committee for Programme and Co-ordination) in fighting duplication and waste and achieving cohesion and efficiency. We continue to work diligently along with the Secretariat, specialized agencies and the other delegations of this body to refine operational activities for development. We have recently called for the need for better co-ordination of the United Nations system's effective response to emerging humanitarian assistance challenges world wide, whether they are sudden or slow-moving emergencies.

There are very understandable differences in interests, concepts, approaches and goals among different delegations and groups of delegations concerning what the structures and processes should be for the United Nations to accomplish its economic and social destiny. But to take economic development in its broadest and most profound manifestation, for instance, it is in no nation's or region's interest to fail to give up some preference, anxiety or suspicion in order to maximize the resources we have to alleviate poverty and its accompanying misery.

(Mr. Treat, United States)

All of us need to work together to find a way to agree on utilizing the compelling analysis and implementing the promising prescriptions, in some reinforcing combination, which have been gathered over a long period of time. We do not need to study any more; we need to act.

The draft resolution under consideration proposed by the Group of 77 on "Restructuring and revitalization of the United Nations in the economic and social fields" provides us with an explicit, enlivened, and promising consultative process which might actually lead us to meaningful progress in strengthening the United Nations deliberations, oversight and management of its economic and social agenda.

Mr. BAHADIAN (Brazil): The views of the Group of 77 on the question under consideration have already been expressed by the representative of Bolivia in a statement to which we fully subscribe. I should like to stress just a few points to which we attach particular importance.

As we all well know, the discussion on the restructuring and revitalization of the United Nations in the economic and social fields is not a new one. Many attempts have been made in the past to advance the debate and to come to grips with the question of understanding why it is that this Organization has fallen short of what was and is expected of it in economic and social matters.

This discussion must now incorporate at least one new important element. It has been correctly pointed out many times during this session of the General Assembly that one could reasonably expect that the task of revitalizing the United Nations in the economic and social fields would benefit from the new political climate and the overcoming of the East-West divide. The lack of effectiveness in the economic and social endeavours of the Organization has been, to a very large extent, the result of the lack of political will on the part of Member States to enter into serious commitments in this area and to implement them. It is to be

(Mr. Bahadian, Brazil)

hoped that the changes in the political scene, which seems to have made it possible for nations really to unite in the quest for common political goals, will produce a similar effect in questions related to economic and social development.

The report presented by the Secretary-General (A/45/714) correctly addresses this point. We concur with the statement made in that report to the effect that

"restructuring and reform cannot compensate for lack of political will to act". (A/45/714, para. 33)

There is no substitute for a firm determination on the part of Member States to face the serious problems we are confronted with in the economic and social areas and to go ahead with strong and innovative measures for dealing with such problems.

Linked with the question of the political willingness is, of course, the need for a solution to the financial crisis of the Organization, which accounts for many of the shortcomings of the economic and social sectors.

The need for restructuring and reform exists and is widely acknowledged. We are grateful to the Secretary-General for the report he has prepared on this matter. That report contains a number of interesting and thought-provoking suggestions which would deserve careful and attentive consideration by Member States. While not wishing to go into the details of the recommendations made by the Secretary-General, I believe it is appropriate, at this point, to mention briefly only a few aspects which we view as particularly important in the discussions on restructuring and reform.

First, there is the question which issues are to be considered as sectoral and which are to be labelled cross-sectoral. The response to this is far from obvious and there is of course a great deal of arbitrariness involved in any judgement on this point. We should refrain from conclusions based on the wrong assumption that there is general agreement on what is and what is not sectoral. Here, as

(Mr. Bahadian, Brazil)

elsewhere, there is the risk that political considerations might proceed under the cloak of technical analysis. Depending on how the overall system is structured, to label an issue as cross-sectoral could in fact amount to little more than ensuring that issue a decent burial. This question will have to be discussed by Member States in all its aspects, technical and political.

Another difficult question is that of striking a proper balance between the need for more technical specialization and the need for integrated and consolidated approaches. It is by no means clear how the criticism addressed to the so-called sectoral approach is to be made consistent with the call for greater specialization.

Moreover, as the Secretary-General's report aptly indicates, most of the problems involved in the attempts to restructure and revitalize the economic and social sectors have to be viewed in the light of current developments in the world economy. New trends in the international economy have to be taken into account. The report we are examining mentions two issues which tend to become increasingly important, namely foreign investment and science and technology.

In the interdependent economic environment in which we now live foreign investment and the activities of transnational corporations are recognized as elements which will receive an enormous amount of attention from Governments. In this connection the work of the Centre on Transnational Corporations can make a valuable contribution.

Perhaps even more important is the role now played by science and technology in development. Under the present circumstances, there are enormous opportunities for action by the United Nations in the field of promoting access to science and the transfer of technology, as well as for fostering the endogenous development of scientific knowledge and technological capabilities in developing countries. It is now recognized, for instance, that transfer of technology can play a crucial role

(Mr. Bahadian, Brazil)

in the promotion of small- and medium-scale enterprises in developing countries. As the focal point for co-ordinating activities related to science and technology at the secretariat level within the United Nations system, the Centre for Science and Technology for Development will certainly have an increasingly substantial role to play.

(Mr. Bahadian, Brazil)

Brazil has actively participated in United Nations initiatives resulting from the 1979 Vienna Conference on Science and Technology for Development. In the context of restructuring and reform of the economic and social sectors, we attach great importance to the observance of the mandates established by General Assembly resolution 34/218, with regard to science and technology for development.

The questions raised in the report of the Secretary-General - on which I have made only sketchy comments and which would require much more detailed consideration - are good examples of the intricacies involved in the process of restructuring and revitalization. We are sure that most of these questions will be actively looked into in the consultations to be undertaken next year by the President of the Economic and Social Council, as requested in resolution 1990/69 of the Council and at the resumed session, and we look forward to giving a substantive contribution to this process of discussion.

For the information of delegations, I should like to state that action on the draft resolution under agenda item 117, "Review of the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations", has been postponed in order to give the Administrative Committee on Advisory and Budgetary Questions and the Fifth Committee time to consider its programme budget implications.

AGENDA ITEM 25 (continued)

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/45/481 and Add.1)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION A/45/L.11/Rev.2

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, to introduce draft resolution A/45/L.11/Rev.2.

Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): The Chairman of the Arab Group in the month of October, the Permanent Representative of the State of Kuwait, presented the draft resolution in document A/45/L.11/Rev.1, concerning co-operation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States. Before the vote, a delegation requested a postponement for consultations in order to achieve a text that that delegation could vote for. The postponement was agreed.

Since then, through the beginning of this week, consultations continued. Despite the responsiveness of the Arab Group and its intensive efforts to achieve a text which could be adopted by consensus, those efforts have not led to the desired result. Consequently, I take pleasure today in introducing draft resolution A/45/L.11/Rev.2 on behalf of the Arab Group I have the honour to chair for this month. I shall simply speak here of the very slight amendments that have been made to the first draft resolution.

First of all, I would like to reaffirm the oral amendment previously mentioned by the representative of Kuwait, concerning operative paragraph 4.

I shall now report to the Assembly on the amendment in operative paragraph 3, whose text would now read:

> "Expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for his efforts to implement Security Council resolution 425 (1978) and commends the League of Arab States and its Tripartite High Committee for their endeavours to resolve the crisis in Lebanon."

As you can see, this amendment reports on the praiseworthy efforts of the Secretary-General to resolve the Lebanese problem in the context of the resolution of the Security Council. The paragraph also commends the efforts of the Arab League to resolve the crisis in Lebanon and its success today.

The draft resolution cites all the aspects of co-operation and co-ordination in the political and economic spheres between the two organizations. Therefore, I

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

take pleasure in inviting all Member States to vote in favour of this draft resolution in order to consolidate co-operation between the two organizations in achieving the noble objectives aspired to by our peoples, namely, a world of justice, the rule of law, security and peace.

The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker in explanation of vote before the vote, may I remind members that in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seat.

Mr. KENET (Israel): My delegation has always supported, willingly and whole-heartedly, all agreements of co-operation between the United Nations and regional organizations. This support is in conformity with Israel's long-standing policy that the cause of peace, security, development and stability in a given region is best served by co-operation between Member States. My delegation would have supported the draft resolution before us had it reflected these goals.

In view of the new spirit of rapprochement and conciliation prevailing in the international arena, it was only natural to expect that the same spirit would be incorporated in the positions and conduct of the 20 nations comprising the Arab League. Yet, with the exception of one, these nations are totally indifferent to the new norms of conduct adopted by the international community in the resolution of disputes. The Arab League perseveres in its total rejection of the right of the State of Israel to exist, in maintaining a state of belligerency with it, in pursuing hostile activities on the political and economic levels against it and even in its consistent rejection of any realistic or viable approach to the peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

(Mr. Kenet, Israel)

This posture of the Arab League is in contradiction to the Charter of the United Nations, to the letter and spirit of several solemn Declarations adopted in recent years by the United Nations and to norms of international law.

We appreciate the complexities involved in the achievement of peace. Israel has suggested, therefore, a process of confidence-building measures, as described by Israel's Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs in his statement before the General Assembly on 1 October 1990 and contained in document A/45/PV.14.

We would do well to remember that the longest journey begins with a first step. The policies pursued by the League of Arab States prevent any such step from taking place. My delegation will therefore vote against the draft resolution before us.

The PRESIDENT: There is no other explanation of vote before the vote.

The General Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/45/L.11/Rev.2. I should like to inform members that the Secretary-General does not foresee programme budget implications in the implementation of this draft resolution.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Israel, United States of America

Abstaining: Dominica

The draft resolution was adopted by 147 votes to 2, with 1 abstention (resolution 45/82).

The PRESIDENT: Before calling on tne first speaker in explanation of vote, may I remind delegations that in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401 explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and shall be made by delegations from their seats.

I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

Mr. STEIN (United States of America): I regret that the United States had, as it has in the past several years, to vote against this resolution. The United States does seek to support the work of the Arab League and does support increased co-operation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States. The League of Arab States has played a positive role in seeking a peaceful solution to the crisis in the Gulf, and my Government is co-operating with members of the League to this end. However, as we have stated in each of the preceding several years, we cannot support a resolution which includes language and references inconsistent with fundamental policies of the United States Government and which we have consistently opposed.

In this resolution the Secretary-General is requested to help implement General Assembly resolutions that the United States has opposed. In the ninth preambular paragraph the resolution includes a reference not to United Nations-Arab co-operation but to the statement of the 1980 Arab Summit, which contains language and conclusions that are unacceptable not only to the United States but to many members of this Assembly as well. We regret that the sponsors of this resolution have chosen to include these references. We would much have preferred to join in consensus on this resolution with other members of the Assembly.

The United States takes this opportunity to reaffirm its strong support for the efforts of the Tripartite High Committee of the League of Arab States to settle the conflict in Lebanon. We continue to believe that their ongoing work with all the parties concerned presents the best opportunity for a peaceful resolution of this tragic situation.

Mr. TRAXLER (Italy): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 member States of the European Community. While the Twelve have all voted in favour of the resolution on co-operation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States just adopted, I wish nevertheless once again to make a few general comments.

Over the last few years the General Assembly has been faced with a growing number of resolutions relating to co-operation between the United Nations and various organizations holding Observer status, a tendency which is likely to continue during this session of the General Assembly. The Twelve are well aware of the benefits of such co-operation and have been happy to join in expressions of support and encouragement for the further development of such co-operation within the framework of the United Nations Charter.

However, the Twelve would prefer it if resolutions of this kind dealt with the question of co-operation in terms which avoided introducing contentious elements.

In particular with regard to paragraph 4 of draft resolution A/45/L.11/Rev.2, the Twelve wish to draw attention to the need to avoid prejudicing the role of the Secretary-General and to the fact that the Twelve have not supported all the resolutions referred to in that paragraph.

The Twelve also note that the frequency of meetings between the United Nations and the League of Arab States has been increased from every three years to every two years. The Twelve can agree to this on the understanding that the Secretariat can meet any cost from within existing resources.

With regard to paragraph 10, the Twelve would like to state that its contents should not serve as a precedent for the future. The United Nations should be free to make use, in its various projects, of the best and most economical expertise available to it.

Mr. GISLASON (Iceland): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the five Nordic countries, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden and Iceland.

The Nordic countries voted in favour of the resolution just adopted by the General Assembly on the understanding that the elements with political implications, in particular in paragraph 4, are not relevant to the issue and, obviously, cannot prejudice the position of the Nordic countries on the substantive matter referred to.

Mr. SUMI (Japan): The delegation of Japan is well aware of the extremely valuable benefits to be derived from co-operation between the United Nations and the various organizations with Observer status. Japan thus welcomes and firmly supports the co-operation of the United Nations with the League of Arab States. Consequently, Japan voted in favour of draft resolution A/45/L.11/Rev.2. In doing so, Japan would however like to place on record its position concerning paragraph 4 of the resolution, which includes a reference to some of those United Nations resolutions which Japan did not support.

Japan also wishes to draw attention to the need for efforts to limit the costs of such co-operation between the United Nations and the various organizations with Observer status in view of the current financial constraints.

Mr. CORRY (New Zealand): My delegation supports the promotion of co-operation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States. Accordingly, we voted in favour of the resolution which has just been adopted.

We again, however, have reservations about aspects of the resolution, in particular paragraph 4. I wish to place on record that our vote does not signify any change in our position on matters that are not relevant to the resolution.

(Mr. Corry, New Zealand)

Regarding paragraph 10, I wish to state my delegation's view on the need for continued adherence to the Organization's existing criteria concerning the employment of staff.

Ms. WILLIAMS (Australia): Australia has been a consistently strong supporter of instruments of regional co-operation and of co-operation between such bodies and the United Nations. The Secretary-General's report now before us and its addendum are a source of satisfaction, as is the contribution of the Tripartite High Committee of the League of Arab States in seeking a solution to the agony of Lebanon. For these reasons, Australia voted in favour of the resolution.

My delegation wishes to place on record, however, that, as in the case of earlier resolutions on this subject, it again this year encountered difficulties with the wording of operative paragraph 4 of the resolution on which we have just voted. Regarding operative paragraph 10, while understanding the sentiment expressed, my delegation considers that the United Nations should continue to be mindful of the need for merit, efficiency and economy in the employment of staff. This principle applies in all resolutions in which considerations of this kind are raised.

Ms. THOMSEN (Canada): As in the case of similar resolutions in previous years, Canada voted in favour of the resolution on co-operation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States which the Assembly has just adopted. The Government of Canada has welcomed the efforts of the Tripartite High Committee of the League of Arab States which led to the recent developments towards the extension of the Lebanese Government's authority and the realization of Lebanese sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. This said, however, our support for the resolution just adopted cannot be entirely unqualified, as operative paragraph 4 refers to previous United Nations resolutions which Canada did not support.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Observer of the League of Arab States, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 477 (V), of 1 November 1950.

Mr. MOHAMED (League of Arab States) (interpretation from Arabic): We have listened to the statements on this agenda item and extend our thanks and appreciation to all those representatives who have expounded their views and the positions of their countries, with the exception, naturally, of the representative of Israel.

I note that in his statement, the Israeli representative said that there are 20 members of the Arab League. As far as I know, and I work there, the number of member States of the Arab League is 21. I wonder whether the representative of Israel has the competence even to interfere with the membership of a regional organization and to reduce its numbers.

The issue before us is crystal clear. One of the oldest regional organizations in the world, the League of Arab States represents a population of no less than 200 million who share a common history, and a common culture and belong to one nation. The League also wishes and has reiterated the wish to engage in economic, technical, scientific and developmental co-operation, in general, with the United Nations, which represents the conscience of the world and of almost every country in the world, in line with the provisions of the charters of both organizations. However, we find that the Israeli representative objects to and votes against the concept of such co-operation. We also find that he does so for reasons that are fundamental and not marginal. Unfortunately, he does so with the support of a super-Power. The representative of Israel takes his point of departure from the allegation that the State members of the Arab League are aggressive States that want war, especially with Israel. What is it that the representative of Israel tries to tell us here, year after year? He is apparently trying to tell us that the United Nations shall ignore all the Arab countries and embrace Israel, because Israel is the only peace-loving country while the Arab

(Mr Mohamed, League of Arab States)

countries love war. Perhaps he is also trying to say that we should co-operate to chastise those naughty Arab countries in defence of the expansionist settler-colonialist Israeli posture.

We were compelled to make the resolution deal with political issues in certain of its operative paragraphs. We had no wish to do so. However, we find that any development effort or attempt at the optimum utilization of our resources is hampered, to a very large extent, by political factors and obstructed by occupation and creeping expansion, immigration, settlement and destruction. In the face of all this, what option do we have? Can we separate development from peace? Can we achieve optimum co-operation without overall stability?

Contrary to the Israeli representative's allegations, the Arab League and its member States, in actual fact, have often reiterated their positions on many important issues and, in particular, on those issues which have to do with peace and security in the Middle East. Israel should have responded to the positive offer by the Arab League which sided with the peaceful option for resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Arab posture, in this respect, is based on the resolutions adopted at the Fez summit and subsequent Arab summits.

We in the Arab nation work for and aspire after greater development and economic and social progress in order to guarantee the well being and prosperity of our citizens and their freedom in and sovereignty over their countries. In conclusion, I wish to thank all those who voted in favour of the resolution we have just adopted. We also wish to register our respect for the viewpoints put forward by certain countries and representatives of regional blocs on the resolution. We shall take those viewpoints into account. We would have hoped for understanding on the part of the United States of America of the real motives of the United Nations

(Mr Mohamed, League of Arab States)

and the Arab League which proceed from their Charters and aim at promoting co-operation. Unfortunately, it appears that there is a need for more time to convince the United States of America of the significance of the co-operation we seek.

The PRESIDENT: We have concluded our consideration of agenda item 25.

AGENDA ITEM 35 (continued)

THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST: DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/45/L.35 to A/45/L.37)

The PRESIDENT: I remind representatives that the debate on this item was concluded at the 63rd plenary meeting, on Monday, 10 December.

I call on the representative of Cuba to introduce draft resolutions A/45/L.35, A/45/L.36 and A/45/L.37.

Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): I have the honour to introduce to the General Assembly, on behalf of the sponsors, draft resolutions A/45/L.35, A/45/L.36 and A/45/L.37, on the situation in the Middle East.

With regard to the first, draft resolution A/45/L.35, I should like to make a small addition to the fourth preambular paragraph, which should read:

"Taking note of the reports of the Secretary-General of 15 October 1990, 12 November 1990 and 26 November 1990".

As is customary at each sessions, this draft resolution not only deals with the most general aspects of the subject of the Middle East, but also emphasizes the question of Palestine. In it the Assembly would reaffirm the constantly reiterated conviction of the international community that this question is the core of the conflict that has troubled that important area of the world for more than four decades. At the same time, it would place clearly on record that the exercise by the Palestinian people of their legitimate national rights and the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem, are essential pre-conditions of the achievement of comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the region.

The Assembly would stress the indivisibility of peace in the Middle East and the role of the Palestine Liberation Organization, as the representative of the Palestinian people, in achieving a just and comprehensive settlement, and reaffirm its support for the Fez peace plan and the action taken subsequently to try to guarantee the implementation of its provisions. Moreover, in the draft resolution there is a clear reference to the harmful effects of the strategic co-operation between the United States and Israel and the collaboration between the Zionist régime and the apartheid régime of South Africa as factors which make more difficult the achievement of a lasting solution to the conflict.

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

Despite the importance of all the elements in the draft resolution, we believe that two of them are particularly significant and timely. I refer to the policies and practices of the Israeli authorities in the occupied territories and the need to adopt without delay measures to guarantee the protection of the Palestinian people from such atrocities as that committed on 8 October at Al-Haram Al-Shareef, in Jerusalem, and to convene an international conference on peace in the Middle East in order to achieve a just and lasting solution to the conflict based on the withdrawal of Israel from all the territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and the other Arab territories, and the guaranteeing of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, in accordance with the many relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations. Both problems are now before the Security Council, therefore the decision we take in the General Assembly cannot fail to have an impact on the Council's deliberations. We trust that this will help get rid of some of the obstacles not only to the convening of the conference, but also to the very mention of it.

By the second draft resolution, A/45/L.36, which refers basically to the continued occupation by Israel of the Syrian Golan Heights, the Assembly would declare once more all actions and decision taken by the occupier to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration in that territory to be illegal and to be an act of aggression under Article 39 of the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX).

In our view, it is very important in the present circumstances that the Assembly recalls that the Israeli occupiers have flagrantly violated Article 25 of the Charter by refusing to respect Security Council decisions with regard to the Syrian Golan Heights and the other territories occupied by Israel in 1967, particularly resolution 497 (1981); and that it deplores the fact that a permanent

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

member of the Council, by exercising its veto, has prevented the adoption against Israel of measures under Chapter VII of the Charter in accordance with resolution 497 (1981).

By the draft resolution that we are now introducing the Assembly would call upon all Member States to refrain from supplying to Israel any military, economic, financial or technological aid, as well as human resources, that would enable it to prolong its illegal occupation of the Arab territories or encourage it to pursue its aggressive policy in the region.

With regard to the third draft resolution, A/45/L.37, we have to inform the General Assembly that Senegal would have wished to be included among its sponsors. In our view, this draft resolution is particularly relevant in the light of the discussions being carried out in other parts of this building. The text refers to the decisions adopted by the Zionist occupiers aimed at altering the character of Jerusalem by imposing its legislation on that city and illegally proclaiming it the capital of the State of Israel.

In this case, too, there is clear violation of the decisions adopted by the Security Council, in particular resolution 478 (1980), which urges all States not to recognize the "Basic Law" by which the Israeli Parliament claims to alter the status of Jerusalem, and asks all States to withdraw their diplomatic missions from that city, which, as is well known, they have not done.

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

There is no doubt that Jerusalem is part of the territory occupied by Israel in 1967, and although some parties are now trying to say that it is not, this draft resolution and the large vote in favour we are sure it will receive will reaffirm yet again that the immense majority of the international community are convinced that it is indeed a part of that territory.

These are the points of view I wanted to present on behalf of the sponsors of the three draft resolutions before the Assembly.

We hope that at this time, when it is being repeated so often that dialogue and negotiation are the ways to solve international conflicts and disputes, no claim will be made that the Middle East conflict is an exception. We note with alarm how, even while work is going on to defuse hotbeds of tension in other parts of the world through political channels and by dialogue, in the Middle East the situation of the Palestinian people is becoming worse and worse; today, there are even some who want to go back on positions they once held, positions which were a source of hope for a peaceful solution to a situation whose very existence depends solely on the intransigence of those who are trying, however futilely, to keep the people of the heroic intifadah for ever subject to the most ferocious repression.

With these words, then, we submit the three draft resolutions to the General Assembly for its consideration. We trust that all States which love justice, peace, sovereignty and the independence of peoples will vote in favour of these texts, which appeal to the world's conscience for a solution to a conflict which should already have ceased to exist.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting.

May I remind delegations that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, such explanations are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. TRAXLER (Italy): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the twelve Member States of the European Community. The view of the Twelve on the principles that need to be applied to solving the conflict in the Middle East were set out in full in their statement in this debate on 7 December.

The Twelve have serious reservations about draft resolutions A/45/L.35 and A/45/L.36. We are concerned at their lack of balance and at the fact that these resolutions do not reflect basic principles which the Twelve consider essential for a solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Furthermore, the Twelve cannot accept language criticizing a permanent member of the Security Council for having exercised its right in accordance with the Charter.

The Twelve are glad, however, to support the third draft resolution under this item, namely, draft resolution A/45/L.37, and in this regard they recall the importance they attach to Security Council resolution 478 (1980).

Mr. STEIN (United States of America): The recent tragic events in the occupied territories underscore the need to achieve a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute. As this body well knows, the United States remains firmly committed to a practical process for achieving peace in the Middle East. We have worked hard at this for many years, and we will continue our efforts to achieve a comprehensive settlement.

For over two decades, the United States has been committed to a just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In the last year and a half, we have held particularly intense discussions with all the parties involved. We have stressed a practical approach to negotiations as a way to bridge differences. Today, our approach remains based on the two principles we believe can provide a solid foundation for an equitable settlement.

(Mr. Stein, United States)

We support negotiations leading to a comprehensive settlement based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). These negotiations should involve territory for peace, security and recognition for Israel and, for the Palestinian people, their legitimate political rights.

The shape of a final settlement cannot be dictated by any party in advance, and all parties should refrain from unilateral actions which prejudge the outcome of negotiations or which prejudice the possibility of reaching negotiations.

We believe this Assembly could, in encouraging reconciliation and accommodation between the parties concerned, make a practical contribution to the peace process and help create the positive atmosphere required to underpin successful negotiations. Regrettably, the General Assembly has not yet met this challenge. The draft resolutions before this body today, which are, generally, tired renditions of those adopted in earlier years, offer only yet more empty rhetoric and inflammatory accusations. Such divisive language does not promote, it retards, the cause of peace; the United States, therefore, will vote against draft resolutions A/45/L.35 and A/45/L.36, which remain highly objectionable in tone and contain unbalanced, harsh condemnations of Israel.

Inter alia, draft resolution A/45/L.35 endorses an authoritative international peace conference on the Middle East. Secretary of State Baker has recently made clear the United States policy in this regard.

We note, however, the deletion of last year's call for severing diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with Israel and the call to isolate that country. We encourage this trend, and hope it can lead to further progress towards reconciliation and dialogue. None the less, the call in draft resolution A/45/L.36 for States to end all aid to Israel, and its other unbalanced language, make this text, as a whole, unacceptable.

(Mr. Stein, United States)

My Government has, in addition, asked for a separate vote on operative paragraph 10 of draft resolution A/45/L.35, to highlight our objection to its critical reference to the relations of the United States with another Member State, and we call on all Member States to reject that paragraph.

My Government supported Security Council resolution 497 (1981) on the status of the Golan Heights, which was balanced and helpful. The extreme language of draft resolution A/45/L.36, on the other hand, is harmful.

As in the past, my delegation will abstain in the voting on draft resolution A/45/L.37, concerning Jerusalem, because we believe that the status of Jerusalem should be determined by means of negotiations between the parties concerned, and as part of an overall peace settlement.

(Mr. Stein, United States)

So we in this body and the parties concerned must abandon polemics and concentrate instead on pragmatic creative approaches to resolve this complex problem. Those who are truly committed to peace can do no less.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take decisions on the three draft resolutions before it.

The Assembly will first take a decision on draft resolution A/45/L.35. The voting process has now begun.

A separate, recorded, vote has been requested on operative paragraph 10 of draft resolution A/45/L.35. Is there any objection to that request? Since that does not appear to be the case, I shall therefore put it to the vote first.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Cuba, Djibouti, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Maldives,* Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

---

* Subsequently the delegation of Maldives advised the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain.

Abstaining: Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bolivia, Brazil, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cyprus, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Kenya, Liechtenstein, Malta, Mexico, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Suriname, Thailand, Togo, Uruguay, Venezuela

Operative paragraph 10 of draft resolution A/45/L.35 was retained by 52 votes to 37, with 49 abstentions.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/45/L.35, as a whole.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Cuba, Cyprus, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, France, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Antigua and Barbuda, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Bulgaria, Central African Republic, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Czechoslovakia, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Fiji, Finland, Greece, Haiti, Hungary, Jamaica, Japan, Liechtenstein, Malawi, Malta, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Romania, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Spain, Sweden, Uruguay

Draft resolution A/45/L.35, as a whole, was adopted by 99 votes to 19, with 32 abstentions (resolution 45/83 A).*

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/45/L.36.

The voting process has now begun. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chad, China, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Djibouti, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Vanuatu, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

---

* Subsequently the delegation of Papua New Guinea advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour.

Abstaining: Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Brazil, Bulgaria, Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Haiti, Jamaica, Liechtenstein, Malawi, Malta, Myanmar, Nepal, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Spain, Suriname, Thailand, Togo, Uruguay, Venezuela

Draft resolution A/45/L.36 was adopted by 84 votes to 23, with 41 abstentions (resolution 45/83 B).*

The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution A/45/L.37. The voting process has now begun.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

---

* Subsequently the delegation of Papua New Guinea advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour; the delegation of Bolivia that it had intended to abstain.

Against: Israel

Abstaining: Costa Rica, Dominica, Malawi, United States of America

Draft resolution A/45/L.37 was adopted by 145 votes to 1, with 4 abstentions resolution 45/83 C).

The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker in explanation of vote after the voting, may I remind delegations that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their places.

Mr. SADOUS (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): My country is deeply concerned and very much regrets the fact that we are witnessing an aggravation of the situation in the Middle East as a result of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, as well as a deterioration of the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories.

Argentina reiterates its conviction that it is imperative for the international community, through dialogue and negotiation, to make the necessary efforts to resolve and eliminate all situations of conflict and injustice. That is why we voted in favour of draft resolutions A/45/L.35 and A/45/L.37, since, in general, they contain principles accepted and upheld by the Republic of Argentina.

While recognizing the efforts made this year in the drafting of draft resolution A/45/L.36, my delegation had to abstain once again in the vote because the text continues to include concepts that we do not share with respect to the Arab-Israeli conflict. For the same reason my delegation abstained in the vote on operative paragraph 10 of draft resolution A/45/L.35.

(Mr. Sadous, Argentina)

Once again, my delegation would like clearly to express that the Republic of Argentina does not recognize Israel's illegal occupation of the Syrian territory of the Golan Heights, which is in direct violation, inter alia, of Security Council resolution 497 (1981). Therefore my Government considers that the decision by Israel, the occupying Power, to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration in those territories is null and void and without international legal effect.

Finally, my delegation would like to reiterate the Argentine Government's full support for the return of the Golan Heights to the Syrian Arab Republic, so that that country may once again exercise effective and full sovereignty over all its territory.

Mr. GUVEN (Turkey) (interpretation from French): During the general debate Turkey gave a detailed account of its position on the situation in the Middle East. In accordance with that principled position, the Turkish delegation voted in favour of draft resolutions A/45/L.35, L.36 and L.37, although we do not agree with the contents or the wording of some paragraphs.

Turkey's vote against paragraph 10 of draft resolution A/45/L.35 reflects our reservations on this paragraph, which contains provisions going beyond the authority of the General Assembly. Furthermore, had separate votes been taken on paragraphs 8, 12 and 13 of draft resolution A/45/L.36, my delegation would have abstained because, in our view, these paragraphs make no contribution to a solution of the Middle East problem.

Mrs. PELLICER (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): The Mexican delegation voted in favour of draft resolutions A/45/L.35, L.36 and L.37 because we feel that they include positive elements which will enable progress to be made towards the achievement of a diplomatic, comprehensive and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict. The situation in the Middle East continues to give rise to international concern, owing to the tenacious persistence of the various disputes in the region. Unlike in other regions of the world it has not been possible to instate the imperative of peace in this strategic area. It should not surprise us that, in an area of latent conflicts, constant tensions, lack of trust and ancestral resentments, acts continue which only strengthen antagonisms and further polarize positions.

It is vital that this vicious circle be broken. The international community cannot remain passive in the face of a volatile situation threatening international peace and security. Hence, we require the parties to the conflict to demonstrate clear political will to move forward towards a just and stable solution. A readiness to compromise and negotiate is a virtue, not capitulation.

(Mrs. Pellicer, Mexico)

My delegation is convinced that the United Nations can provide the necessary framework to find the peaceful solution we all desire. We therefore firmly support the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council and all the parties to the conflict. This conference, preceded by an understanding on its structure and format, merits the serious and objective consideration of all parties. At the same time, Mexico continues to support the framework for a solution of the Middle East conflict contained in the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. We stress the need to recognize and respect the sovereignty, integrity and political independence of all the States of the region, as well as their right to live in peace within secure, recognized borders. Similarly, we reaffirm the right of all peoples of the region to self-determination without foreign intervention and we continue to support the inalienable rights of the Palstinian people.

My delegation abstained in the separate vote on paragraph 10 of draft resolution A/45/L.35, because we feel that the views expressed therein go beyond the competence of the General Assembly. We also repeat our serious reservations on paragraph 6 of that draft resolution because the partial agreements achieved to date, although far from being a definitive solution to the Middle East problem, nevertheless constitute very important steps in that direction.

My delegation feels that the views contained in paragraph 12 of draft resolution A/45/L.36 fall within the competence of the Security Council and had there been a separate vote on that paragraph we would have abstained. At the same time, we wish to express our gratitude to the sponsors of that draft resolution for the changes they introduced to versions in past years, which demonstrates a clear political will to promote a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. We feel that

(Mrs. Pellicer, Mexico)

this kind of progress will contribute substantially to generating the necessary climate of confidence and trust to undertake full negotiations on the Middle East conflict.

Mr. FREUDENSCHUSS (Austria): Austria had the opportunity to explain its position on the situation in the Middle East during the debate on this item. Our position is well-known and has been consistent over the years.

We share the basic concerns and agree with many, but not all, elements expressed in the draft resolutions before us. In particular, my delegation cannot support those elements which would not only aggravate the existing situation but further impede the search for peace.

Therefore, Austria, while supporting draft resolution A/45/L.37, was compelled to abstain in the votes on L.35 and L.36.

Mr. SHAHABI (Islamic Republic of Iran): The Islamic Republic of Iran voted in favour of all the draft resolutions adopted regarding the situation in the Middle East.

Nevertheless, my delegation would like to express its strong reservation concerning those paragraphs of the draft resolutions which either explicitly or implicitly rendered recognition to the Zionist régime occupying Palestine.

Mr. AMER (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution on the situation in the Middle East. Previously we had voted on the draft resolutions on agenda item 23, the "Question of Palestine", and in favour of the draft resolutions adopted at the Special Political Committee and, subsequently, at the General Assembly on item 74 concerning the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees and item 75 on the Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People and Other Arabs of the Occupied Territories.

(Mr. Amer, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

However my delegation wishes to put on record its reservation on any paragraph in the said draft resolutions that directly or indirectly would imply recognition of the Zionist entity in the occupied territories.

Mr. ARCILLA (Philippines): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/45/L.36. However, we would like to state that had paragraphs 8, 12 and 13 been put to separate votes we would have abstained on all of them.

Mr. AYE (Myanmar): I should like to explain my delegation's action with regard to draft resolution A/45/L.36 relating to the situation in the Middle East.

My delegation abstained in the vote on that draft resolution because we have grave misgivings regarding the possible implications of its operative paragraph 12.

Mr. GALAL (Egypt): I should like to explain my delegation's vote on draft resolution A/45/L.36, which has just been adopted.

My delegation abstained in the vote although it is in full agreement with the basic purpose of the draft resolution. Egypt has always maintained that Israel's decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the occupied Syrian Arab Golan is illegal and, therefore, null and void. We strongly believe that this decision constitutes a continuing threat to regional and international peace and security, and we demand that Israel rescind it.

We acknowledge and welcome the fact that much of the language of this resolution has been improved by the sponsors. I refer in particular to operative paragraph 13 and to the deletion of last year's operative paragraph 14. We commend the sponsors for that. However, my delegation has some reservations regarding the language used in this year's resolution. That is the reason for our abstention. We hope that the sponsors of the corresponding draft resolution next year will continue the efforts at improvement in order that more delegations may join in demonstrating support for its basic and legitimate purpose.

Mr. ABOU-HADID (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): The vote by the delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic in support of draft resolution A/45/L.35 does not imply recognition of Israel, which does not recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people, and which continues to occupy the Syrian Arab Golan and other Arab territories in contravention of resolutions of the United Nations and of international legality.

Mr. POSSO SERRANO (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Ecuador decided to abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/45/L.36 because we feel that its text implies making value judgements and criticisms. It seems inappropriate that the General Assembly should adopt draft resolutions that do not promote what we should all regard as a desirable solution to a chronic problem of our Organization. If the resolution had been drafted differently the delegation of Ecuador would have voted for it. We agree entirely that it is necessary to remind all States of their duty to abide by the provisions of international law, particularly those relating to the inadmissability of the acquisition of territory by force.

The PRESIDENT: We have thus concluded our consideration of agenda item 35.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.